000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; feather decorations are [301] used only festively; the special woman's horse- [302] tail coiffure is not used here any longer; cotton [755] is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[1]; one [614] of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; the [784] term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 115 --Analyst]

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
•784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

[1] [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

614 We get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
178 kepala kampong are built in the new style, as are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
● 784 have a taboo on lusa.

We

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

● 784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.

[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).1
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes 1 says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

1 [See bibliography, Cat. IIB--Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

R

778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

●784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

R

784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua /"man
614 suku descendants kampong."/) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

R

614 assumed taboo.

784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

R

621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
●784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

123 609 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said, "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

614 343 562 243 We discussed a certain rank which appears in the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] 614 796 831 784 241 [857] [887] [797] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn" must have one. These were formerly young virgins, but now with so few young girls still pagan, they are either (1) old women still remaining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

We.

831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
796 arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

R

624 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is [769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

791 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 178 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

R

778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

●[784] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The
592 eldest son is the manager of the family land. Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
●184 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
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Wo.

565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high office. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

[114]

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●784

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

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583 4. I must ask whether the men who have come to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also origirated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u [764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate, 621 but once they were one. There was a man named [361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel 481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).[1]

There is no pasar system here. There are 443 only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

There is some barter, but most transactions 437 are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

Note and very important: There is a taboo on 286 784 weaving all over Manggarai, except in the north-east quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

[1] [See bibliography, category 113. — Analyst]

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

• [784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]